

Message Text

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SUBJ: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 21, 1977 (SALT TWO 1236)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMB EARLE
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JUNE 21, 1977.

MR. MINISTER:

I. TODAY I WANT TO CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSION OF MIRV VERIFICATION
AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ASSOCIATED
WITH THE DEFINITION OF LAUNCHERS OF MIRVED ICBMS AND SLBMS.

II. IN ITS STATEMENT OF JUNE 17, THE SOVIET DELEGATION APLIFIED
ITS NEW PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH THE ISSUE OF MIRV VERIFICATION.
THIS PROPOSAL IS BEING CAREFULLY STUDIED BY THE UNITED STATES. TODAY
I WANT TO MAKE SOME PRELIMINARY COMMENTS AND TO COMPARE CERTAIN
PARTS OF THAT PROPOSAL WITH CORRESPONDING PARTS OF THE US POSITION.

THE UNITED STATES IS PLEASED TO NOTE THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL
FOR PARA 5 OF ARTICLE II INCLUDES THE TERM "LAUNCHER OF A TYPE".
WE ARE ALSO PLEASED TO NOTE THAT THE NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL ACKNOWLEDGES
THE NEED, FIRST TO ESTABLISH AN ASSOCIATION BETWEEN A MIRVED MISSILE

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AND A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER, AND THEN TO ESTABLISH AN ASSOCIATION
BETWEEN THAT LAUNCHER AND OTHER LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME TYPE.

III. THE US DELEGATION NOTES THAT, UNDER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL
A LAUNCHER WOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH A PARTICULAR TYPE OF MIRVED ICBM
OR SLBM IF IT HAD BEEN "DEVELOPED AND TESTED FOR LAUNCHING" THAT
TYPE OF MISSILE. THE US FORMULATION ALSO WOULD ASSOCIATE

A LAUNCHER WITH A PARTICULAR TYPE OF MIRVED MISSILE IF THAT LAUNCHER HAD BEEN DEVELOPED FOR LAUNCHING SUCH A MISSILE. IN ADDITION, HOWEVER , THE US PROPOSAL SPECIFIES THE CRITERION WHEREBY A LAUNCHER WOULD BE JUDGED TO HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED FOR LAUNCHING A PARTICULAR TYPE OF MISSILE. THAT IS, A LAUNCHER WOULD BE JUDGED TO HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED FOR LAUNCHING A MIRVED ICBM OR SLBM IF IT HAD EVER "CONTAINED OR LAUNCHED" SUCH A MISSILE.

ALTHOUGH THE FORMULATIONS DIFFER SOMEWHAT, THERE APPEARS TO BE SOME COMMONALITY IN OUR TWO APPROACHES. FOR INSTANCE, THE TERM "TESTED" IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL AND THE TERM "LAUNCHED" IN THE US PROPOSAL BOTH SEEM TO INDICATE THAT THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MISSILE AND LAUNCHER CAN BE MADE DURING THE TESTING PHASE. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE STILL HAVE QUESTIONS REGARDING THE SOVIET FORMULATION. FOR EXAMPLE , IT APPEARS THAT THE CRITERION FOR ASSOCIATING A LAUNCHER WITH A PARTICULAR TYPE OF MISSILE MAY BE THE INTENDED PURPOSE FOR WHICH THAT LAUNCHER HAS BEEN DEVELOPED AND TESTED. IF THIS WERE THE CASE, IT WOULD CREATE DIFFICULTIES SINCE INTENT IS NOT VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

THE US PROPOSAL WAS MADE WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING
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PRECISE AND UNAMBIGUOUS INDICATORS, OBSERVABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, OF AN ASSOCIATION BETWEEN A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER AND A PARTICULAR TYPE OF MISSILE. WITH THIS IN MIND THE US HAS PROPOSED IN ITS FORMULATION THE INCLUSION OF THE "CONTAINED OR LAUNCHED" CRITERION.

IV. ANOTHER COMMONANT

IN THE APPROACHES OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS IS THE ASSOCIATION TO BE MADE BETWEEN A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER WHICH AS ALREADY BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH A MIRVED MISSILE AND OTHER LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME TYPE. IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN AGREED STATEMENT TO PARA 5 OF ARTICLE II, LAUNCHERS OF A SINGLE TYPE WOULD INCLUDE "ALL SUCH LAUNCHERS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED AND TESTED FOR LAUNCHING A CORRESPONDING SPECIFIC TYPE OF ICBM OR SLBM, EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS." THE US DELEGATION IS CONCERNED THAT THIS COULD BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT, IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY OTHER LAUNCHERS AS BEING OF THE SAME TYPE AS A PARTICULAR LAUNCHER ASSOCIATED WITH A PARTICULAR MIRVED MISSILE, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO VERIFY THAT EACH OF THOSE OTHER LAUNCHERS HAD BEEN DEVELOPED FOR LAUNCHING AND THAT EACH OF THOSE OTHER LAUNCHERS HAD BEEN TESTED FOR LAUNCHING THE SAME TYPE OF

MIRVED MISSILE AS THE ORIGINAL LAUNCHER. IN OTHER WORDS, EACH OF THE LAUNCHERS OF A PARTICULAR TYPE WOULD INDIVIDUALLY BE SUBJECT TO THE SAME CRITERION AS THE FIRST LAUNCHER ASSOCIATED WITH A PARTICULAR MISSILE.

THE US DELEGATION RECOGNIZES THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS REGARDING THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ASSOCIATION IS TO BE MADE BETWEEN A LAUNCHER WHICH AS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH A PARTICULAR MISSILE AND OTHER LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME TYPE ARE COMPLICATED BY THE SITUATION AT DERAZ-HNYA AND PERVOMAYSK. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THIS SITUATION IS UNIQUE, THE US DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE RESOLUTION OF ISSUES ARISING FROM IT SHOULD BE DEFERRED AND THAT THE GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT REGARDING VERIFICATION OF MIRV LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE FORMULATED WITHOUT REGARD TO IT.

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V. MR. MINISTER, I WANT TO REPEAT THAT THE US IS CONTINUING TO STUDY THE SOVIET PROPOSAL SET FORTH ON JUNE 17. IN THE MEANTIME I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING OUR DISCUSSION OF MIRV VERIFICATION. EARLE

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